MARCANTONIO MEMORIAL MEETING, MANHATTAN CENTER, N.Y. DEC. 7, 8 P.M.

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NOISE

McCarthy rally fizzles, but cries of hate chill Madison Square Garden

By Elmer Bendiner

ON the top balcony of Madison Sq. Garden on Monday night, Nov. 29, a banner flapped: "American-Irish Minute Men of 1939." The seats around it were empty. The whole top balcony was deserted, mocking predictions of the "Ten Million American For Justice" rallying that night in Sen. Joseph McCarthy's greatest bid for popular support.

Police had roped off the streets outside for an expected overflow; sound

Herblock in Washington Post

"Do you mind if we put another aisle in here?"

trucks stood ready to pipe the rally to waiting throngs. There were none. The Garden holds 22,000; police estimated the crowd at 13,000. Admission was free and the rally was widely ballyhooed, not only in the press but in many churches and parochial schools. Simultaneous rallies set for Los Angeles and Chicago were canceled.

CRIES FOR BLOOD: Filling the rear half of the Garden floor were large contingents from New Jersey who arrived a half-hour early in chartered buses. They were the best-organized, waving placards as at a political convention indicating delegations from Secaucus, Weehawken, Bayonne, Jersey City. Most were middle-aged or elderly and many were women, a few clutching confederate flags. New Yorkers who came under their own steam numbered less than 10,000.

Some held aloft crudely-lettered banners: "Why Let Hiss Out and Censure McCarthy?"; "Get the Net for the CEC Pet" (CEC stands for Committee for an Effective Congress. The "pet" presumably was Sen. Flanders, R-Vt.); "Sen. Joe McCarthy for President of our Great Christian Nation in 1956. Keep it Christian in the interest of America First."

In hat bands and breast pockets were paper signs reading: "God Bless McCarthy." It was a restless crowd, eager for excitement, relishing every epithet hurled from the speakers' stand and tossing some themselves, waiting to be triggered into action. It took little to touch them off. An attractive, smartly-dressed young Life photographer, Lisa Larsen, did it. She walked down the center aisle shooting the crowd. A woman jumped up, shouting: "She's a Communist!" The cry was taken up and in an instant from all parts of the Garden came shouts of "Hang her!" and "Throw her out!" Men and women who had never seen Miss Larsen, and saw nothing of the original incident, stood on their chairs and shouted epithets. Roman Catholic priests who were scattered in sizeable numbers throughout the audience stood up but said nothing.

JOE WAS MISSING: Former Gov. of N. J. Charles Edison, who was speaking at the time, stepped away from the microphone and a powerfully-built soprano was rushed up. She began to sing "The Star Spangled Banner" while cries of "Throw her out!" continued. The pandemonium went on until Miss Larsen was ushered out by a policewoman and several Garden guards.

The incident revealed more than the crowd's hunger for action. Throughout the evening the press was a target. Near the press box hecklers shouted at the reporters. From the platform the "leftist" press—particularly the N.Y. **Times**—was repeatedly denounced to a chorus of boos.

Though the rally was built around

(Continued on Page 11)

Drop that hammer and sickle, Henry Luce!

Lisa Larsen, Time-Life photographer, being escorted from the Retired-General-for-McCarthy rally at Madison Sq. Garden Nov. 29, amid shouts of "Kill the Communist." See story, left.

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THE INMATES CHEERED HIM AS HE LEFT PRISON

Hiss free, begins fight to dispel the myth about him

ALGER HISS *He's free*

WM. REMINGTON *He's dead*

FREED on Nov. 27 from Lewisburg (Pa.) federal penitentiary after serving three years and eight months there, Alger Hiss was given a lusty round of cheers from fellow-inmates who crowded to the jail windows. Quietly and without notes the former State Dept. official and adviser to Franklin D. Roosevelt told a mass of reporters, photographers and radio men that he would "renew with more enthusiasm" his efforts to expose "the fantastic inventions that politicians and members of the press have been free to invent about me"; and that the success of these efforts would "assist in the allaying of the hysteria and fear of these days." Reasserting his "complete innocence" of spy charges laid against him by ex-**Time** editor Whittaker Chambers, he said he was confident the "myth that has been developed . . . the deception that has been foisted upon the American people" could be dispelled. Hiss was sent to jail for perjury in denying the Chambers charges, after he had brought suit against Chambers for libel.

The cheers of Hiss' fellow-inmates were almost drowned out by a **Time-Life** helicopter hovering for a "picture of the week." Hiss behaved agreeably with the press which responded by publishing the address of his New York apartment on page one (N.Y. **Times** and **Herald Tribune**); one paper published a full description of Hiss' attorney's car in which the party left the prison. The **Times** said that "a gathering of about 100 persons stared as the Hiss family and his two attorneys" entered the house in downtown New York. It said both the Velde and Jenner committees were "interested" in calling Hiss for questioning.

In Miami, Fla., to begin probing "subversives" whose "contempt" convictions for not answering grand jury questions were reversed by Florida's Supreme Court, inquisitor Velde said his committee "won't call Hiss if he has nothing new to say."

MURDER: On the same day that Hiss came home, the wife of another Lewisburg prisoner, William Remington, buried her husband in New Jersey; he had been murdered in his cell by three young auto thieves. After the brutal assault, reports immediately began circulating of political connotations (Remington was convicted of perjury in denying former Communist Party membership) and of some connection between the murder and Hiss' impending liberation.

According to information the GUARDIAN believes to be reliable, the motive of Remington's murderers in breaking into his cell and attacking him with a brick was simple larceny; without friends to send them cigarette money from outside, they sought to steal from Remington's locker. Indications were that the stories of Lewisburg inmates' hatred for "reds" were deliberately spread by the FBI.

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Frustration or ignorance?

CLEVELAND HEIGHTS, O.

Some political analysts say the close vote in the election indicates frustration of the voters. Is this not a misinterpretation? Doesn't it show that most voters could not distinguish much difference between the two parties and therefore could not make a decided choice? It might also be construed that the close vote was due to the voters' ignorance, as certainly no intelligent citizen would vote for either of the parties.

The old parties don't speak for the people, but represent privileged interests. Most of the voters are wage workers and there needs to be a labor party. **Joseph Manlet**

Very quick work

FARMINGTON, IOWA

An article with the headline below recently appeared in the Keokuk (Ia.) Gate City, concerning the annual meeting of the American Society of Anesthesiologists. My dictionary defines the verb "anesthetize" as: ". . . to bring under the influence of an anesthetic; render insensible to pain."

If—God and Man forbid—the bomb falls, it seems to me that the anesthesiologists will be fighting a losing battle. The bomb itself will do an infinitely more thorough job of "rendering insensible to pain." **Clyde B. Appleton**

If You Can Count To 5 After H-Bomb Then You're Okay

A kiss for Detroit

DETROIT, MICH.

The Detroit National Guardian Committee sends in $100 to you from a wonderful Hallowe'en Party we had October 30. Our main feature was a fortune-teller who predicted a real rosy future for our committee here. We are planning a Smorgasbord with a GUARDIAN speaker for January, and we hope a real Hoe Down with Pete Seeger for February or March. In the meantime we have been able to get 45 renewals through phone calls to some of our lapsed subscribers. This is just a start so expect to hear more from us later.

Detroit National Guardian Comm.

How crazy can you get dept.

Question: Would the cold war end if the Russian climate grew colder?

Answer: Undoubtedly. Students of the effect of the climate on man's behavior believe that the recent Russian outburst of energy has been due largely to a slow rise of three to five degrees in summer temperature.

—"Let's Explore Your Mind" column by Albert E. Wiggam, D.Sc., L.A. Daily News, Nov. 13.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: M. Yashon, Los Angeles.

It makes employment

SEATTLE, WASH.

United States cities are using fluorine in their water systems in the belief that it will in great measure prevent tooth decay in the growing child.

Now we find that there is a gadget on the market to take the fluorine out of the water when it is attached to the faucet.

Mrs. Jay P. Hansen

UN doesn't answer

NEW YORK, N.Y.

With reference to the cry for retaliation for the sinking of the Taiping, you may be interested in this letter I wrote to the UN. I didn't receive any answer.

"I would be very thankful if you could give me some information. UP reported today that 'the Chinese Nationalists were strafing and bombing the mainland for the 24th consecutive day. Hundreds of fighter-bombers flew through the fringes of a typhoon and sank or damaged 34 Communist boats along the China coast, Government sources reported.' The boats were evidently not military objects but junks, manned by civilians, probably fishermen.

"Does the Security Council not object to armed attacks of a UN member against a non-member, or is bombing, strafing and sinking of fishing boats considered as self-defense, according to Art. 51 of the UN Charter? Did Nationalist China by signing the Declaration of the UN not bind herself that armed forces shall not be used, save in the common interest, and that friendly relations among nations shall be developed based on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples?"

(Dr.) **John H. Beck**

Salisbury's split

DES MOINES, IA.

I notice a letter from a Canadian reader concerning the GUARDIAN's opinion of the N.Y. Times' Harrison Salisbury, now that he has repudiated his articles from Moscow. How much fairer can one be? Mr. Salisbury just did an Eddy Gilmore [AP correspondent who also returned]. For money, perhaps, or to keep his job, or maybe to clear himself of any supposed "red" taint. Mr. Salisbury said he would stand on his record from Moscow and New York, but since one series of articles repudiates the other, how can he do that?

Marjorie Parris

No irony here

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

When Christians practice Christianity
It may save humanity; "
Then their gilded hereafter
May not receive ironic laughter.

Joe Jennings

Drawing by Dyad, London

"Blimey! Me old age pension's come through."

Pauling—an apology?

MAMARONECK, N.Y.

A man besmirched and dishonored by the bigots and mis-leaders of his nation has just achieved the highest honor that can come to a scientist or man of letters in our time.

Nevertheless, no newspaper has yet indicated how the awarding of the Nobel Prize to the courageous American scientist, Dr. Linus Pauling, once again exposes the inadequacy and hypocrisy of the McCarran Act. Twice previously, Dr. Pauling had been refused a passport by our State Dept., acting under the license granted it by this shameful act.

Surely at this late date, not merely a passport, but an apology in full, is due our most distinguished biochemist. **V. S.**

Let 'em rip

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I'm just as firmly convinced as to the overwhelming merit of the ALP after having voted Row D as I was before election day. My sincere congratulations to John T. McManus for his participation in the gubernatorial race and the leadership that he inspires to all who believe in a decent and independent third party. We only lost an election but we maintained the basis for an honest and dignified voting apparatus. We may be off the ballot temporarily, but the ALP program is still the only decent one that is around. And I'd rather be right than vote for a phony for governor. So let's allow the issues to rip these coming months, call a Democrat a Democrat, a reactionary a Republocrat and the best party in the land the American Labor Party (Progressive Party).

Paul Meyerson

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"I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

REPORT TO READERS

Our 6th birthday dinner

THE GUARDIAN'S BIRTHDAY DINNER Nov. 30 filled the Hotel Astor ballroom in New York City with a most reassuring muster of some of the finest, fightingest people in Gotham.

We had a topflight evening together of laughter, song, uncommon good sense and fond recollection and compliments. Our chairman again this year was the great and gifted Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Last year Dr. DuBois' companions on the dais included Vito Marcantonio and Emanuel H. Bloch. Death has stilled both these historic voices in the past year. Dr. DuBois recalled them in his introductory remarks: "Marc," whose "fine memory remains and is with us, here and now"; and "Manny," whose co-counsel in the Rosenberg defense, Gloria Agrin, was one of this year's speakers.

Miss Agrin, who is now a member of the legal staff fighting the government's effort to deport GUARDIAN Editor Cedric Belfrage, spoke feelingly of Bloch's premature death, "the product of these bitter times," and paid tribute on behalf of the late Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to the GUARDIAN, "the first of their friends, who then became legion." She listed many of the "politically dispossessed who have found refuge in the GUARDIAN's pages"; the Rosenberg children, Morton Sobell, the 31 Florida contempt victims (who sent greetings and thanks to the dinner), the Louisville (Ky.) "sedition" defendants and many more.

RING LARDNER JR., one of the Hollywood Ten, and a guest last year, paid us a return engagement with a wry but ominous account of the pro-McCarthy meeting held the previous night (see p. 1). Of the GUARDIAN, he concluded:

> "We all regard it with affection and look forward to its arrival, but this is not quite the same thing as recognizing its absolute indispensibility. You have to consider its size in relation to the total output of newspapers and magazines in the country to realize how concentrated and powerful an antidote it is to some of the worst poison of our time."

We had hoped to have as guests also Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers Union, who was delayed in Boston and could not attend; and Vivian Hallinan, wife of the 1952 Progressive Party candidate for President. Mrs. Hallinan had to undergo an operation in San Francisco. She sent a telegram expressing her disappointment and reminding us that 1948 was the birth year of both the GUARDIAN and the youngest of the six Hallinan sons, "two of my favorite children." She wired:

> "I worry about the GUARDIAN and feel solicitous for its welfare. I am filled with pride in its courage and in its honesty. I look forward to each edition for the facts that I find nowhere else. There never has been an issue no matter how sensitive, that this paper has been afraid to tackle. The GUARDIAN reminds me so much of my own kids, always bloody but unbowed."

OUR OTHER PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS were Dr. Corliss Lamont, now waging a history-making defense of the right of the people to protection of the First Amendment; and Cedric Belfrage, whose closing address was a characteristically witty, biting but optimistic resumé of the times we live in.

It remained for Lamont to evoke the evening's high point of laughter when he read from an attack on the GUARDIAN in the blacklist publication **Counter-Attack**. The editors of **Counter-Attack**, it seems, have discovered the very latest in subversion, the GUARDIAN's current holiday greeting cards (see p. 12). What riled **Counter-Attack** most was one of the cards which shows a toy train winding over a track which spells out "Noel," but inside the track continues, and spells out "Peace"!

The evening's proceedings were tape-recorded and will be edited into what is bound to be a most enjoyable LP record. If you would like one mailed to you as soon as they are pressed, write now for details.

John T. McManus

P.S.: The GUARDIAN's annual holiday letter has now reached all hands, if we have your address. If he haven't, a postcard will bring yours. We're anxious for your answer, because we like holiday remembrances as well as the next fellow. Shall we be hearing from you?

THE LAW

Civil liberties is the key at Lawyers' Guild meeting

THROUGHOUT 1954 the Natl. Lawyers Guild, embracing most of the leading U.S. progressive and liberal lawyers, has been fighting an attempt by Atty. Gen. Brownell to list it as "subversive." In a first-round skirmish the Guild won an Appeals Court stay of the administrative proceedings. The key importance to civil liberties of the Guild's fight, and its strength and breadth, were apparent at the Guild's 13th national convention Nov. 19-21 in Chicago's Congress Hotel. More than 600 lawyers and guests attended and $17,000 was collected for the fight at the concluding banquet, attended by many Negroes and 40 Packinghouse workers, from which many had to be turned away. A GUARDIAN correspondent wrote:

"People of obvious independent views, such as Chicago University law prof. Malcolm S. Sharp (elected the new president) and Yale Law School Prof. Thomas I. Emerson (awarded the Guild's Franklin D. Roosevelt award for conspicuous service to civil liberties) and others, are continuing in the leadership. This indicates the Guild's success in maintaining its broad, independent position in American life, while at the same time expressing itself more vigorously for preservation of the Bill of Rights. Convention observers felt that if the Guild can resist the attacks against it during the next two years, it will grow tremendously in years ahead."

ATTACKS & ADVANCES: Outgoing pres. Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, president of the Urban League, pointed to the progress made in 1954 against the drive to undermine constitutional prerogatives at home and toward relaxing tensions abroad, and the great strides toward racial equality. Reporting on "Threats to the Independence of the Bar," Guild vice-pres. Daniel G. Marshall of Los Angeles recalled that the U.S. District Court in D.C. last month granted Brownell's motion for summary judgment against the Guild; the Guild is appealing the decision and seeking a stay pending appeal. Guild secy. Robert J. Silberstein called Brownell's effort to "list" the Guild "a usurpation of power by a government official."

As an example of the threat to lawyers participating in "framed" cases particularly designed to test the school segregation decision, it was reported that in East and West Baton Rouge (La.) parishes two Negro lawyers who tried to register Negro children in white schools are being "investigated" by the Bar for disciplinary action. California's Laurent B. Frantz, stressing that the Supreme Court segregation decision "lays the basis for legal challenge to every aspect of the jimcrow system," urged that instead of relying "wholly on test cases" everyone should try to persuade "Congress to utilize enforcement power [of] the 14th Amendment . . . unexercised since 1875."

THOMAS I. EMERSON RECEIVING THE ROOSEVELT AWARD

Robert W. Kenny of California is at his left and Malcolm Sharp of Illinois, new national Guild president, is at his right.

WANTED—NATIONAL PURPOSE: New York's Osmond K. Fraenkel, California's Robert W. Kenny, Delaware's Louis Redding, Florida's John M. Coe, Michigan's Walter Nelson, Denver's chief probation officer Mrs. Mary Rose, journalist I. F. Stone and others spoke in panels on "Repressive Measures Against the Bar," "The Law & Marital Relations," "The Bar & Civil Rights." Former Spanish Foreign Minister J. Alvarez del Vayo, speaking on "Co-Existence is Possible," said it would "never become a reality until we negotiate on Germany"; he predicted a serious upheaval in Spain due to unpopularity of the treaty with the U.S. Nation editor Carey McWilliams, in a powerful attack on anti-communist policies, said:

"American life . . . everywhere suffers from the lack of a clear national purpose. . . . Containing communism is not a purpose. Great purposes cannot be stated negatively. . . .

"The tactics of confusing such persons [liberals and dissenters] with Communists has been very effective. . . . It is perfectly clear that in the guise of internal security, we have set up a structure . . . of a garrison state."

HERESY IS DATED: McWilliams proposed "rallying opinion on all levels to the defense of the Constitution that we have all sworn to uphold." To halt the trend toward witch-hunting and conformity he suggested:

- Abrogating the "loyalty" program, substituting "a sensible security program";
- Rejecting "the whole concept of heresy";
- Recognizing that "our freedom is our security";
- Rejecting the premise that "it is quite all right to deny to those you don't like rights and privileges which you insist upon for yourself."

Besides passing a resolution demanding no political tests as a condition for admission to or continued practice before the Bar, the convention called upon Congress to extend social security benefits to self-employed lawyers and other professionals and to provide additional old age and survivor benefits, unemployment compensation, federal housing and federal aid to health.

•

Only one buck for honest news. Give a Guardian gift sub today. $1 for 26 weeks. See p. 2.

Liberal lawyers say . . .

(at the Guild convention)

"In the first World War, at the battle of Verdun, Marshall Foch asked Petain to hold the line and Petain said: 'They shall not pass.' Foch said: 'That's not enough—we must attack.' In the same way we must attack bigotry."

—Former NLG pres. Earl B. Dickerson

"In the past few years the atmosphere of cold war has gone into the court-rooms. . . . Now that the order of the day is co-existence, that is the atmosphere lawyers should try to bring into the courts."

—New York attorney Frank Donner.

"Whenever I can't get another continuance in a case, I'll rely on my injured elbow."

—Prof. Stephen S. Love of the Illinois Bar.

Political deportees — 1944 to 1952

In a detailed analysis of U.S. political deportations since the 1918 Act to deport "force and violence" group members or affiliates, the **Lawyers Guild Review** (Fall, 1954) comes up with these figures on deportees between 1944 and 1952 when there was a total of 375 deportation cases:

- Out of 198 cases on which the facts were ascertainable, 190 had resided in the U.S. over 21 years, 157 were over 46 years old.
- Out of 195 men and 134 women studied, 101 are parents of citizen-children, 24 have sons who fought in World War II or are now in the armed services.
- Out of 181 for whom facts were available, 46% had applied once or more for citizenship.
- In less than 4% of cases did townspeople testify against the deportees at any stage.
- The administrative proceedings lasted over 2 years in all of 193 cases studied, over 4 years in 127 cases.

SEGREGATION IS THE BASIS

Wesley Wells sues for his freedom

WESLEY ROBERT WELLS, 45-year-old Negro prisoner whom GUARDIAN readers helped save from the California gas chamber last April, filed suit in Superior Court Nov. 29 for release from life imprisonment. The suit declared that 11 "instances of racial segregation practised against him by prison officials had deprived him of his rights as a U.S. citizen." Evidence accompanying the appeal showed that "because he was of Negro ancestry" he "was subjected to insults, indignities, brutal treatment and special punishment," all of which tended to deny him his rights under the 14th Amendment.

Wells was transferred five months ago from San Quentin to the Terminal Island Medical Facility for medical attention. He was sentenced to death in 1947 for throwing a cuspidor at and slightly injuring a guard. Gov. Goodwin J. Knight, shortly before he stayed execution and decreed life imprisonment without possibility of parole, told a Los Angeles meeting: "You have 200,000 petitions for Wells. I have twice that number in my Sacramento office."

"TO SERVE THE PEOPLE": In a recent interview Wells admitted he had "made mistakes," and added that "to treat a man like an animal is to arouse the animal in him." He now felt his life was "in the hands of hundreds of thousands whom I don't know but who wrote to the Governor and saved my life." Wanting his life to be "a force to serve those people for the faith they put in me," Wells told the interviewer: "It seems to me California can dare give me a chance to prove I am worthy of something better than prison."

A Los Angeles newspaper reported that after five months in his new environment Wells was a baseball umpire on Terminal Island, "scoring an amazing victory for the man . . . who was labelled so dangerous that his return to normal prison life might cause someone else's injury."

Action on his appeal is expected within 30 days.

•

Get your holiday greeting cards from the Guardian. See p. 12.

Free world vignettes

Formosa is more than a police state; it is a policeman's police state. Counting carefully, one may discern 11 different security agencies, each under a separate department, several of which may at the same time interest themselves in one citizen's way of life.

—London **Observer**, Oct. 10.

Three fine American authors applaud

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AN OPEN LETTER FROM FRANK SERRI TO HUBERT HUMPHREY

'America has had great parties but has them no longer'

On Sept. 13 Frank Serri, noted lawyer and president of the N.Y. Lawyers Guild, wrote a letter to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, chief proponent of the Communist Control Act of 1954. Below are excerpts of the letter.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Dear Senator Humphrey:

I HAVE READ your letter to me of Sept. 7 and your analysis of the bill to outlaw the C.P.

Frankly, the most frightening thing is not the serious errors of judgment, but the fact that you, a liberal senator, are unconscious of the enormity of the evil you have committed.

1. To outlaw the ballot is to outlaw legal opposition and that is tyranny no matter what the subterfuge.

You can't destroy the political nature of a political party by the device of calling it a "conspiracy" by unconstitutional legislative fiat. That is a majority dictatorship at its worst. "That enactment is an act of violence," to quote Lincoln. . . .

You have swallowed whole the McCarthy legend of a conspiracy of force and violence. There is no such conspiracy to overthrow our Government. There never has been in our time and there never will be—provided we remain democratic, constitutional and American.

In short, as long as we satisfy reasonably the expectations of our people, they will not resort to violence. How does Shakespeare sum it up in Coriolanus? "Are you all resolved rather to die than to famish?" That is the chief economic seed bed of violence. And the other, you are unwisely creating: for danger begins when you deny the ballot.

No group exists so idiotic as to plot the violent overthrow of our present U.S. Government. There have been prosecutions under the Smith Act for advocacy—a law which four Supreme Court judges have declared unwise—but never has there been an indictment that the C.P. leaders and members conspired to overthrow violently the Government of the U.S. This complete absence of any such indictment during the entire existence of the C.P. is powerful proof that no such conspiracy was ever dreamed of on land or sea.

2. Your Capone analogy is truly astounding.

Capone talked his violence with revolvers and machine guns. His opponents were not voted down, they were shot down. The C.P. has never been accused of possessing a cap pistol. Obviously, you are forgetting all our American history during the last 30 years. The C.P. has functioned peacefully as a minority political party: it has held local, state and national conventions; platforms were discussed, adopted and published; candidates from President down to councilman were put on the ballot; extensive public campaigns were conducted, papers and magazines were published, and radio and television used—when available; and a few local candidates were elected.

In that way it performed an essential job as a minority party effectively. It goaded and spurred the major parties; it acted as a severe critic; and it offered an alternative program for the public consideration. . . .

Frequently, it has been the energy, the ideas, the day-to-day programs of the C.P. and other smaller parties which have been the arsenal of ideas for the improvement and strengthening of our democracy. This has been true government by discussion. For its preservation and development, a debt of gratitude is due to the minor parties, including the C.P.

3. The U.S. Government can protect itself effectively against violence, in fact more effectively, without nullifying the Bill of Rights.

Of course, every democratic government has the right to protect itself against a conspiracy to overthrow it violently. There has never been any dispute as to that principle. The First Amendment does not in any way stop the Government from swooping down swiftly on any group plotting and preparing for its violent overthrow. That is the field of violent, criminal action. The common law and the federal law for many years have provided against preparations and attempts at riot, insurrection, espionage, sabotage and treason. In that field, the Government may and must enter. But even in that field you must prove the charge in open court with valid evidence. Instead, you have charged conspiracy and stamped a political party guilty without any legal indictment, without any legal evidence, wihout any trial in the open court room, and without any jury. If that does not rip the Bill of Rights, due process and fair trial to pieces, what does? . . .

Worse still, you have confused that field of prohibited violence with the field of freedom into which the Government cannot trespass. You have lawlessly invaded the constitutionally protected field of thought, free speech and assembly. That field you cannot lawfully enter at all. . . . Your bill shoots the Bill of Rights to ribbons. If that is constitutional, then Chiang Kai-shek is the President of the U.S. and Franco is our Vice-President.

4. By officially branding the members of the C.P. as traitors, you outrival McCarthy at his foulest.

McCarthy libeled the Democratic record as one of "20 years of treason," but he, at least, conceded

TERRA INCOGNITA
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WEST POINT AND ANNAPOLIS STUDENTS FORBIDDEN TO TAKE PART IN INTERCOLLEGIATE DEBATES ON RECOGNITION OF COMMUNIST CHINA
DEFENSE DEPT.

Herblock in Washington Post

"You're not here to think, Mister."

mated that the Democratic Party could continue to function as a party provided it bent the knee to the Wisconsin Yahoo.

You go further. You do not merely make a speech as he did, you outlaw the entire C.P. Again, you forget your American history. In World War II alone, 15,000 members of the C.P. fought in the armed forces of our country, many died, more were wounded with real, not fake shrapnel, and a goodly number were decorated for bravery. Surely, such loyal conduct must raise a very strong presumption that the members of the C.P. are valiant and loyal Americans devoted, not to destroying our institutions, but to defending, improving and fortifying the democratic process. . . .

5. "America has had great parties, but has them no longer."

I am afraid that you are proving that DeTocqueville was right when he wrote the words quoted above. By your own actions you have laid a real foundation for an indictment that both major parties are conspiracies to pull down our democratic Constitution and to install government by terrorization in place of government by discussion. The tyranny of the majority is the clear and present danger menacing our country today. You are teaching minorities a terrible lesson to imitate in their turn: a majority can do no wrong; might is right. That awful delusion has worked tremendous havoc upon mankind in the past. It will have the same disastrous consequences tomorrow unless you stop, look, listen—and repeal all acts, including the outlaw one, that nullify the Bill of Rights.

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Rain falls on the glass houses of Atsumi

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian special correspondent

LONDON

SOON after they had debated a bill to call up young men for civil defense in time of war, MP's of both parties listened in a private room at the House of Commons to a Japanese scientist telling them what A- and H-bombs would mean to Britain's crowded population. Bevanite MP Harold Davies organized the meeting to hear Yasushi Nishiwaki, biophysics professor at Osaka University medical school, who was in charge of the investigations at Osaka into radioactive fish caught after the U. S. H-bomb test at Bikini. The press was invited but ignored the professor's warning. He spoke non-politically, as a scientist.

DEATH DUST: On the effects of radioactivity on growing crops he said:

"When rain fell on the glass houses in the Atsumi Peninsula in mid-March, the dust residue after it dried off was found to be radioactive to a degree of ten to 100 times above normal. Pumps were brought in and every inch of glass washed down. This was repeated a number of times before geiger counters showed radioactivity was beginning to lessen.

"In mid-May the same thing happened again. The same treatment was used, but each time it has rained since then the dust deposited by the rain has been radioactive.

"So far, because of the protection afforded by the glass, the soil does not seem to be contaminated, but any further H-bomb tests in the Bikini district could have disastrous effects on growers in this district.

"We know that the rain water that

Herblock in Washington Post

"Is there somewhere else to go?"

was contaminated by this dust has not yet reached the underground supplies. When it does we shall have another problem, for it is from this source that most of the growers draw their water.

"We have already found some vegetables, notably onions, contaminated by the dust. Their outer leaves appeared to be quite free, but when the bulbs were cut open the centers were radioactive.

"We know that the body accumulates radioactivity in the same way that it accumulates lead poisoning. Therefore if radioactive vegetables or fruit are eaten in quantity the effect will be cumulative.

"Some of the trace elements in the soil will continue radioactive for many years. Radioactive soil does not become sterile, but plants grown in it mutate. Mutations are useful when carried out on a planned scale by experienced men, but these caused by radioactivity are not useful. In time plants themselves become sterile and useless."

VEGETABLES & PEOPLE: Mishiwaki paused for a moment and then said:

"This problem of sterility does not apply to plants alone. It applies to human beings as well. The men who were showered with this terrible dust are losing their powers to reproduce their species. Like the plants which absorbed it through their roots and leaves, they had absorbed it through the air they breathed, and by the dust falling on their skins.

"Soon after the second rains fell in May we discovered that fields of vegetables in the area outside Osaka had been infected. These were tested with Beta Rays and gave a count of 86,000 a minute; the normal count is 20 a minute. Our problem was what to do with them. We tried out many ways and eventually had to use ordinary tap water—the only water that was not contaminated—to wash them. This reduced their degree of infection some.

"Even so our scientists were worried. We do not know yet what effect even small doses of radioactivity, such as these vegetables had, would have over the years on the humans who ate them. Radioactivity causes cancerous growths in the human body as well as sterility and a host of other things too terrible for the layman to contemplate.

"The geneticists have one of the gravest problems to solve: the effect repeated doses of this infected dust, or food, will have on the population. It may seem odd, but a heavy dose on a small number of people is not so dangerous as a mild dose on a mass of people. It is difficult for the geneticist to draw a line as to what quantity is safe, what is not.

"We learnt from the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bomb tests that the after-effects of radioactivity may not show for many years in humans. The same is true of the soil on which the dust fell. It may seem to be quite all right for a number of years; then suddenly and apparently without any reason, plants growing in it will start to mutate, and crops will be a loss."

In Japan, 25 million men and women have signed the petition demanding international abolition of atom and nuclear weapons.

They wake up screaming

"Soviet Russia's autumn 'peaceful coexistence' offensive is now unveiled. Like its predecessors, it looks like a fraud.

"The problem that gives nightmares to American foreign policy officials, however, is how to convince the people of the free world that it is a fraud."

R. H. Shackford in the N. Y. World-Telegram, Oct. 8, 1954.

Every 7th child

Every 7th child of 30,000 born alive (500 were stillborn) in Nagasaki since the A-bomb was dropped there in 1945 has some kind of physical deformity, according to a report at a conference of Japanese midwives. The figures:

- 1,046 born "with degenerated bone structure or nervous system or with muscular or skin defects";
- 429 born with deformed organs of smell or hearing;
- 243 with deformities of the internal organs;
- 47 with undeveloped brains, 25 without brains;
- 8 "without eyes or eye sockets."

—Peace News (Toronto), Oct. 29.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words); minimum charge $2 per insertion.

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CALENDAR

Chicago

AMERICAN SOCIALIST FORUM "Bevan's Britain — The Coming Struggle in the Labor Party." Speaker: Sol Dollinger. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m., 410 S. Michigan, Room 602. Donation: 35c.

Detroit

"THE SITUATION IN CIVIL RIGHTS," discussed by Ernest Goodman, prominent Detroit attorney. Fri., Dec. 17, 8 p.m., YMCA, 13220 Woodward, near Davison. Auspices: Review-of-the-Month Forum. Admission free.

Los Angeles

MORNING, NOON OR NIGHT? Hear GALE SONDERGARD read from the extraordinary new novel, MORNING, NOON AND NIGHT, by LARS LAWRENCE (Putnam). DALTON TRUMBO, MICHAEL WILSON, SAMUEL ORNITZ, and others will discuss the novel and the problems of the progressive writer today. FRI., DEC. 10, 8:15 p.m., CHANNING HALL, 2936 W. 8th St. A CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY EVENT. Donation.

San Francisco

"THE ATTACK ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND ITS EFFECT UPON AMERICAN CULTURE." Barrows Dunham, author; Stephen Fritchman, minister; Anne Revere, actress. Fri., Dec. 10, 8 p.m., California Hall, Polk & Turk. Admission, $1. Auspices: Californians for the Bill of Rights.

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A LIFE IN THE FIGHT FOR THE LIBERATION OF MANKIND

Andrei Vishinsky, the UN and world peace

By Tabitha Petran

WHEN the UN opened its ninth General Assembly last September, its future looked bleak. Key issues of war and peace were being decided outside UN because Washington barred China from taking its seat. A feeling of impotence had resulted from Western use of UN as a "cold war" weapon against the socialist world; it was reinforced when U. S. Secy. Dulles, in an opening speech, locked already-closed doors to negotiation. A typical comment in those opening days was:

"Vishinsky will have to do something to put this Assembly back on its feet or it will remain flat on its face."

The Assembly was put back on its feet. When Vishinsky died on Nov. 22, in the session's ninth week, it had already become known as "the agreement Assembly," "the most constructive in UN history." Behind the change lay what observers agreed was one of the most masterly performances in diplomatic memory: the success of the U. S. S. R.'s first deputy foreign minister in winning unanimous agreement to certain principles to govern renewed negotiations on control of nuclear weapons and disarmament. In so doing, Vishinsky opened the way to a new effort—blocked by the West for eight years—to rid mankind of the menace of nuclear war, contributing materially to a further relaxation of world tension.

A MAN'S ACHIEVEMENT: Changed military and power realities created the conditions for this achievement; but insofar as history is ever one man's work, the achievement was Vishinsky's: the result of his skill in negotiation, ability to find flaws in the opponent's position, persuasive powers, untiring energy in answering every point—even silly and trivial ones raised by delegates who sought only the limelight. Under the warmth of his unfailing good humor and wit the atmosphere in the Political Committee, during its three-week debate on disarmament and later discussion of the U. S. atom-pool plan, changed from cold formality and—on the part of some—open hostility to near-geniality.

He died just as his struggle to transform UN into a real platform of international co-operation, an instrument of peace, was beginning to bear fruit; it was the UN's—and the world's—tragedy. This thought was voiced again and again when delegates rose to pay tributes in a moving memorial session.

—AND ANOTHER'S: But it was Winston Churchill who—indirectly and inadvertently—most clearly illumined Andrei Vishinsky's unique role as a champion of peace throughout the "cold war" decade. The responsibility for the "cold-war" was pin-pointed when Churchill, in Commons on Nov. 23, told how before the end of World War II he issued orders to his top military commander looking to the rearming and use of Nazi troops against the Soviet armies, which had fought their way from Stalingrad to the German frontiers. He had proposed to take up Hitler's collapsed crusade even as allied troops were uncovering the horrors of Nazi concentration camps—and some 20 million Soviet citizens, six million Jews, hundreds of thousands of other nationalities lay tortured and dead at Nazi hands.

His plans were blocked then by world public opinion. But his policy became U. S. policy, too, when Roosevelt died. To put it into effect required a vast effort to turn world public opinion against the U. S. S. R., and the UN was seized upon as a chief weapon in this campaign. From the first session in San Francisco, the West used its mechanical voting majority to destroy UN as a universal arena in which to seek agreements, and made it a Western weapon in the "cold war." The West outvoted the UN Charter at will, achieved arithmetical isolation of the Soviet point of view, used this to cloak with UN sanction its revival of Hitler's policies.

DEFENDER OF UN: As the U. S. S. R.'s chief UN representative from its inception, Vishinsky was the outstanding fighter against this subversion of UN. He strove unceasingly to make it a real world organization, give it prestige and importance. Always in a minority—though he often spoke for the greater part of mankind (a 44 to 7 vote to condemn China as an aggressor in 1951, for example, translated into populations was 546 million for to 1¼ billion against)—he always fought for his position as if he believed it would win. Against Washington's steamroller he brought to bear great theoretical knowledge and culture, and broad understanding of today's world.

His appointment as permanent UN representative when Stalin died (he was foreign minister then) was not a "demotion" but a measure of the importance the U. S. S. R. attached to UN in its overall effort to reduce international tension. Said a veteran UN observer:

"Vishinsky so dominated UN that the U. S. S. R. was enabled to play here an almost fantastic role in behalf of peace. His loss is irreparable and comes at a crucial moment when he could have played a tremendous role in securing the peace."

AMERICAN TRIBUTES: In directing at him their most venomous fire, Western propaganda machines paid tribute to his effectiveness. Despite this unremitting hostility, he won popularity even among Americans. It was Vishinsky that Americans came to see and hear at UN. When he was scheduled to speak, galleries were packed. When he died, some 3,000 Americans ignored press reports that the public would not be admitted, defied the FBI which took pictures of all who entered, to file by his bier. Some were curiosity-seekers, but the majority by far came because as a New Jersey doctor put it: "I wished to pay tribute to a great statesman who was a Daniel in the lions' den, a peaceful man among the warmongers." Or as a Brooklyn housewife said: "I loved the way he spoke on TV and it seemed to me whatever he said he meant" (**World-Telegram**, 11/23).

His work for peace at UN was only one facet of a many-sided life. In the words of Poland's Julius Katz-Suchy, he was not only

"... a revolutionary, politician, diplomat and statesman ... but also a great master of jurisprudence. His contributions to the theory of State and Law, to the development of Criminal Law and, in particular, to the theory of Judicial Evidence, his contributions to the development of international law ... are achievements not of the Soviet people only ... [but also] of the world science of international law. Who better than he could link up the principles of international law with their application, in everyday practice, in the struggle for international co-operation, based on an understanding of the basic principle that international law can only be a law of peace?"

"THE FINEST CAUSE": A veteran of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions, Vishinsky authored some 200 books, maintained his membership in the Soviet Academy of Sciences even when preoccupied with foreign policy. As State Prosecutor of the Soviet fifth column in the 1930's he put "the new Soviet state on stronger foundations," as the Ecuador UN delegate, speaking on behalf of the 20 Latin American delegations, pointed out.

Western newspapers painted this man, whose every word and action betrayed a deep love for everything that was humane, as some kind of mass murderer; yet they could not entirely ignore his stature. He might have been great, they said, if only he had not put his great abilities at the service of the Russian Revolution. Vishinsky's life in fact was a realization of Lenin's precept:

"Man's dearest possession is life and it is given to him to live but once. He must live so as to feel no torturing regrets for years without purpose; so live as not to be seared by the shame of a cowardly and trivial past; so live that dying he can say 'all my life and all my strength were given to the finest cause in all the world—the fight for the liberation of mankind.'"

ANDREI VISHINSKY AND TWO FRIENDS
For the young there was a smile and kind counsel

REV. GEORGE BISSONETTE
At a reception for the Yugoslav ambassador in Moscow last week, Father Bissonette, a Catholic priest from Central Falls, R. I., introduced himself to Nikita Khrushchev, first secy. of the Communist Party. He told Khrushchev he was pleased that anti-religious agitators in the U. S. S. R. had been reproved for their violent statements. Khrushchev agreed, then introduced Bissonette to Premier Malenkov as a "sympathetic man." He also told Bissonette that co-existence would have a better chance if "boring voices" like McCarthy's would shut up. Father Bissonette has been assigned to Moscow by the Assumptionist Fathers.

God's word in Buffalo

RIFLE TO BE FIRED IN CHURCH TO ILLUSTRATE WORD OF GOD. — Dr. J. Palmer Muntz, pastor of Cazenovia Park Baptist Church, has sanctioned the use of a rifle tomorrow in probably what is the first exhibition of its kind in any Buffalo church. At the services at 7:45 o'clock, Walter A. Haman, former U. S. secret agent ... will shoot an air rifle ... at the cardboard figure of a man on the opposite side of the platform and will attempt to hit a lighted bulb symbolizing the heart. ... The air rifle is being used instead of a regular firearm because it makes less noise, Dr. Muntz said.

—Buffalo (N. Y.) **Evening News**, Nov. 6.

SUPREME COURT HEARING DELAYED

Brownell backs Southern states' demand for gradual desegregation of schools

TO WIN NEGRO VOTES for Republicans, GOP campaigners in the fall election praised the Supreme Court's ban on jimcrow public schools. On Nov. 24, three weeks after the vote was counted, Atty. Gen. Brownell urged the Supreme Court to recommend a "gradualist" form of integration, similar to that favored by some Southern states. The court was to have met Dec. 6 for hearings on how to desegregate and give its decision later. But Senate delay in confirming Justice John M. Harlan forced postponement. Hearings are now expected in January or February.

The Administration's plan, a 30-page brief, called for integration of Negro and white public school students under supervision of federal district ccurts rather than by Supreme Court order. S. Carolina Gov. Byrnes said the brief supported his contention that the high tribunal should remand the Clarendon County suit (the original 1951 action against jimcrow schools) back to the district court for an order to enforce. District court judges are usually local citizens. Other Southern comment favored Brownell's proposal, though Georgia and Mississippi repeated threats to abolish public schools.

ON SOLID OBSTACLES: The NAACP said it would not comment until it had studied the brief. Brownell and the NAACP differed on speedy integration when the matter was argued before the Supreme Court last year. Brownell did say, however, in his Nov. 24 brief that where no "solid obstacles" to desegregation exist, "delay is not justified and should not be permitted" by the lower courts.

Southern Education Reporting Service's **Southern School News** (11/4) gives this summarized account of integration progress:

- Three areas of earlier tension—W. Virginia, Baltimore and D. C.—were calm. Only in Delaware was there evidence of continued unrest.
- Florida, N. Carolina, Arkansas and Texas were getting ready to intervene in the Supreme Court hearings.
- Voters in Georgia and Louisiana gave what **AP** called "one-sided" approval of "last-resort" amendments to preserve jimcrow schools.
- The "race issue" in Florida, Maryland and Virginia was a subject of wide debate in the political campaign.

"Otherwise," the publication said, "the region was quiet, including Missouri, where the beginnings of desegregation have so far produced no incidents whatsoever."

THE CIA

The American taxpayer foots the bills for cloaks, killers and lies unlimited

By Kumar Goshal

Spy rings are as firmly established a pillar of Communist propaganda as germ warfare. One can be sure that the Chinese Reds will find no lie too big to tell. . . . Washington has responded promptly to Peking's vindictiveness and duplicity.

—N. Y. Herald Tribune, Nov. 25.

SUCH was a typical U. S. press comment on the Peking radio announcement that 13 Americans had been sentenced to from four years to life for espionage in China. They had been arrested, Peking said, along with scores of U. S.-trained Chiang agents who were transported in U. S. planes.

Washington called the charges "trumped-up," China's action "a new act of barbarism." Less than two weeks before, the last of three articles by Richard and Gladys Harkness on the operations of "America's super-secret Central Intelligence Agency," run by Secy. of State John Foster Dulles' brother Allen, had appeared in the **Saturday Evening Post.** The articles "revealed [CIA's] methods, how it gets its operatives and money, and its accomplishments—in Guatemala, Iran and behind the Iron Curtain." They revealed that what the 13 Americans were jailed in China for doing was exactly what CIA is spending "several hundred millions a year" to do all over the world.

Drawing by Eccles, London

"He's got a leaflet calling on him to revolt . . . the wind must be wrong."

DENIAL vs. ADMISSION: The timing lent a weird quality to the boiling denials of Peking's charges. The "revelations," said to have been the result of a year's research by the Harknesses, sought on the one hand to lard the CIA's activities with moral justifications and on the other to paint them in garish melodramatic colors, making free play with "sealed doors," "microfilm," codes, documents in "purplish-blue ink" and "lie-detector tests." The result was to hold the CIA up to public ridicule as well as to negate any possibility that denials of "Iron Curtain" charges against it could ever carry conviction. The articles:

- In effect proudly admitted—by coyly quoting Dulles as "neither confirming nor denying" them—"rumors" mentioned in Congress by Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) that CIA "subsidized a Nazi-type organization in W. Germany which had marked leaders of the Social Democratic political party for liquidation"; that it was maintaining the Chiang bandit army in Burma about which that country bitterly but vainly protests in UN, "to make forays into Red China."
- Said "the CIA has clandestine channels leading to high satellite officials . . . intelligence lines to communist officials in positions of power and knowledge," thus implying justification for the controversial treason trials of officials in socialist countries.

"SUBVERSION & SABOTAGE": Specifically, the **SEP** series confirmed material published in the GUARDIAN and elsewhere as to recent violent overthrowals of governments. It described the U. S.' arming of Col. Castillo Armas' forces against Guatemala's democratic regime, after "an emergency session of the Intelligence Advisory Committee behind sealed doors [made] a quick crash estimate" that arms bought in E. Europe by the Arbenz government were enough

> ". . . to enable the Guatemalan Army to crush her neighbors, Honduras and El Salvador, and to march across Nicaragua and Costa Rica to the Panama Canal."

(At the time the press documented [GUARDIAN, 7/19] that Guatemala bought the arms in E. Europe after Washington, supplying arms to all its neighbors, refused to sell any to Guatemala—and that the arms were second-hand and of little use.)

The Harknesses related the "stranger-than-fiction" story of Allen Dulles and Brig. Gen. Norman Schwartzkopf conspiring with Iranian Maj. Gen. Zahedi, the former pro-Nazi, to overthrow the Mossadegh regime. (The GUARDIAN reported, 8/31/53, Allen Dulles' trip abroad and Schwartzkopf's appearance in Iran immediately before the Zahedi coup; pointed out that former New Jersey police chief Schwartzkopf had worked with Zahedi during 1942-1948 in building up Iran's secret police.)

In Egypt, wrote the Harknesses, "when the time seemed ripe" to overthrow King Farouk, "skilled American operatives" indicated to "a pro-American Egyptian military junta . . . how such devious matters were best arranged." (The GUARDIAN at the time did not neglect to point out the possibility of Washington's involvement in the Egyptian coup.) And long before the **SEP**'s "exclusive report" on CIA, **Newsweek** (2/2/53) disclosed:

> "The U. S. has already been going in for . . . subversion and sabotage . . . in an important way against the Reds on the China mainland."

DAGGERS UNDER CLOAKS: The Harknesses confirmed charges made in Indian and other newspapers that many professional Americans abroad are spies and agents-provocateurs. They wrote:

> ". . . CIA recruits are drawn from people whose natural covers in the field of letters, science, business, labor, agriculture or the professions fit them for spot assignments";
>
> They are taught to do research, to collect and transmit information, to act as saboteurs "aiding and abetting freedom forces [and] nurturing indigenous freedom legions";
>
> ". . . CIA-screened psychiatrists are on call to straighten out operatives who succumb to the pressure of leading double lives and suffer nervous breakdowns." (One **SEP** reader asked: "Who screens the psychiatrist who screens the psychiatrist who straightens out the operator suffering nervous breakdown?")

NEVER WEAR GALLUSES: The **SEP** "revelations"—presumably intended to startle—of CIA techniques which in fact have been commonplace in most countries' intelligence operations for years include blowing up railway trestles with plastic explosive, precautionary burning of headquarters waste-paper and a "rule against accepting anyone who makes an unsolicited application for a job." As an example of the care taken by CIA agents to avoid exposure, we are told that:

"FREEDOM FORCES" AND "FREEDOM LEGIONS"

Shaban Jafari, called the "Brainless One," ex-wrestler and gang leader (holding banner), boasted of stabbing Mossadegh's Foreign Minister Hossein Fatemi, recently executed. His gangsters terrorized people into voting for pro-Zahedi candidates in Iran's elections last March. Who paid the bill?

> "It might be signing one's own execution order to pose as a European while wearing a pair of American red galluses. . . . It would be suicide to be caught behind the Iron Curtain with American cigarettes. . ."

In an article series devoted to exposing most of the details about CIA, including Dulles' private address and a photo of the identifying sign outside the Washington headquarters, the most piquant effect is produced by the many references to CIA "security" measures. We learn that, while "the main CIA building was disguised until recently," Dulles "discovered" it listed in the Washington phone book and found sight-seeing guides pointing it out to tourists as "the building where spies work." A Sherlock Holmes picture is painted of the "master spy" himself, "puffing a final pipeful of tobacco before bed . . . after he has read the voluminous reports," with an opium pipe picked up in Chiang's China which, unlike Holmes, he keeps on a table but does not smoke. Like Fearless Fosdick he is ever on the alert:

> "Sitting preoccupied in an Army General's garden one night, Dulles suddenly blurted, "Look at that! There it goes again!" In a window across the way a bright light shone briefly, went out, came on again. "Signaling!" Dulles exclaimed. Investigation showed that the light was coming from an unshaded bulb hanging from the bathroom ceiling of a house where a noisy Saturday night party was going full tilt."

"BLACK" BILLIONS: For all their unconscious absurdities—and to some extent because of them, in view of the irresponsibility they imply—the articles present a picture to alarm the world and especially American taxpayers who foot the bill. One alarming domestic aspect is that Dulles is empowered to bring into the U. S. 100 aliens a year "in the interest of national security" or to promote "the national intelligence mission"; these, it may be assumed, include the arch-criminal scum of post-Hitler Europe. The Harknesses point out that the law setting up CIA, passed under the Truman administration, gives Dulles "virtually unbounded personal authority" under which he "need not voucher his multi-million-dollar appropriations." He does, however, file "routine expense accounts for all 'white' CIA operations," and

> ". . . reports to the Bureau of the Budget and to a small group of members of Congress on an off-the-record basis for his secret, or 'black' expenditures . . . on a lump-sum area basis of so many dollars spent, say, in the Far East or Latin America."

"A GOOD GUESS": All the evidence, including the Harkness articles, indicates that the CIA's work is mainly "black" and consists of outright bribery. The use of bribery to overthrow governments that "won't play" is of ancient lineage, but never before have such huge sums been available for it in the hands of such irresponsible persons. In this field the CIA has had great success; but there is little evidence justifying credit to Dulles' outfits in intelligence fields depending on the brain rather than the buck. World War II intelligence men recall the many tragic occasions when OSS agents recruited by Dulles, parachuted behind Nazi lines, fell right into the Gestapo's hands owing to bad planning and worse security.

Last week the screams of Washington and press indignation continued against Peking's "vindictiveness, duplicity and barbarism" in jailing 13 Americans alleged to be spies. Yet this much, at least, was admitted in "The Mysterious Doings of CIA": that when Moscow announces the capture of a spy,

> ". . . a good guess would be that the Russians actually apprehended an American operative one time out of three."

The sober **Christian Science Monitor,** pointing out (11/26) that "when an intelligence agent falls into enemy hands, his activities are always denied," considered (11/24) the "possibility" that

> ". . . some of these imprisoned airmen actually were working for U. S. intelligence services. The family of one Massachusetts man who was captured said he was understood to be connected with intelligence work."

'Several hundred millions' buy plenty of blood and agony

The "several hundred million dollars a year" which the **SEP** says CIA is spending is "several" times as much as Washington's annual grant and loan program for all Latin America, the inadequacy of which was attacked by Rep. James G. Fulton (R-Pa.) in Brazil last month. If "several" be taken as four, CIA's budget represents $10 a year from the pocket of every U. S. taxpayer. Here is an indication of what the taxpayer gets for his money, in the blood and agony of defenders of too-democratic or too-nationalistic governments marked for Washington-sponsored overthrow:

A letter from female relatives of pro-Mossadegh Iranians executed in October was released last month by the Women's Intl. Democratic Fedn. (13 Unter den Linden, Berlin) which claims to speak for 140 million affiliated women in 66 countries. It said: "The lives of more than 2,000 families are in jeopardy. Thousands of patriots are in prisons and concentration camps; dozens have already been massacred, killed in the streets by the police; in the last two weeks, 16 have been executed; many women have been imprisoned, beaten and tortured. . . . I ask you in the name of all Iranian mothers, mothers who have given their sons to be sacrificed for liberty, to protest to the Iranian government against these crimes."

In Guatemala, 20 Arbenz supporters were scheduled for execution by last week, with 80 more to die soon afterward. Protests were being urged to Guatemalan Ambassador Jose Cruz Salazar, 1614 18th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

ADVERTISEMENT

YOU CAN STRIKE A BLOW...

YOU CAN HELP strike a blow against the growing national menace of the run-away shop.

For more than 50 years the American Safety Razor Co. has been making Gem razors, blades and other products in New York City. On October 28 this company threw 1,400 men and women workers out into the street to join Brooklyn's unemployed. The company is running away to Staunton, Va., where wages are 75 cents an hour—$30 a week—a Jim Crow, open shop town.

Never Work Again

Many ASR workers have 30, 40 and as much as 50 years' service with the company. **They may never be able to get other jobs.**

The ASR workers' union, UE Local 475, had negotiated and signed an agreement for severance pay and pensions. The company went back on its agreement and is ruthlessly throwing its workers on the human scrap-heap, with no pensions or severance payments at all.

November 3, the day after election, police clubbed pickets away from the plant gates, to make way for trucks to start moving the machinery South.

There is no economic necessity for the runaway. American Safety Razor's profits are steadily increasing. It has just reported a nine-month profit of $1,413,396 as against $972,992 for the same period in 1953 and $569,771 in 1952.

UE does not oppose, but welcomes the development of industry in underdeveloped areas, wherever it adds to the national production of useful goods or services and contributes to the income and well-being of the people.

But American Safety Razor's move perfectly fits the recent editorial comment of the Charlotte, N. C., "Observer," which declared that the South **"was selling its strength and vitality at less than cost price. Industrialization offers the hope of deliverance from economic duress but industry that expects favors to exploit poverty only prolongs it."**

Register Your Protests

We urge you to register your protest against the inhuman abandonment of American Safety Razor's 1,400 workers by writing to the company at 315 Jay Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., urging them to grant severance pay and pensions to their employees.

Meantime, please don't buy:

Gem razors and blades, Treet blades, Ever Ready brushes, Silver Star blades, Blue Star blades, Personna blades, Pal Hollowground blades, ASR Ascot lighters.

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The secret of the movies

(Excerpts from an article by Waldo Frank in El Diario de Nueva York, *Nov. 22; translated from the Spanish.)*

LIKE most Americans, when I am tired I turn to the movies as a kind of harmless opiate. Last summer I went three times. The first time I saw a "documentary" of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Jamaica. How brilliant the colors were! How immaculate everybody's clothing from Elizabeth's down to the humblest little Negro boy! How joyously the boys and girls of the island sang their welcome! Jamaica seemed a delightful paradise and all its people (most of them colored) were angels singing the glories of Milady. The "real" Jamaica, naturally, did not appear for a fraction of a second.

Interlandi in Des Moines Register
"You'll notice it conforms to Defense Department specifications as described in the little booklet, 'What to Do in an Air Attack.'"

The second film was **The Cruel Sea**, a story of British sailors defending convoys attacked by German submarines. The difficulties and anxieties of the war years were not concealed. What came to view was the cruelty in Man, not in the sea. But basically the film was as idyllic and sentimental as the one in Jamaica. Here the filth, blood and sweat appeared and—since they were "necessities" to maintain the existing world, its institutions and its leaders—they were indispensable. The illusion of absolute justification for our social system was never put in doubt for a fraction of a second.

MORAL—REVERE THE BOSS: Some weeks later I saw **The Caine Mutiny**, one of the season's successes, a best-seller as a novel and a hit on Broadway. The story deals with a group of American officers aboard a small naval vessel who—to save the ship and their lives—during a storm rise up against the captain. The mutiny is inspired by an officer, an "intellectual" who throughout the war is engaged in writing a novel. He undermines the others' confidence in the captain and with help of a handbook of instructions teaches the first mate his "duty," and the first mate takes over and saves the ship.

Now comes the trick that accounts for the story's success. The intellectual officer turns out to be a coward and a villain. The neurotic and played-out captain is transformed into a victim and hero.

The audience that has sat passively through the film comes out of the darkened movie house having learned a lesson: any Authority, however senseless and dangerous, must be respected, and anyone who dares to "criticize" is an intellectual and, as such, an evil person. . . . The moral of this lesson and its application is clear: obey, defend and revere the boss; distrust the critics who probably are traitors.

ROBOTS OF CRIME: I like "gangster" films. They are usually well-made; they do not invade the profound and subtle problems of human existence, a sphere belonging to great art in which the popular American arts are invariably phony. In these movies the actors are admirably fitted to the cops-and-robbers cliche so that all goes well. So I waited anxiously to see **Dragnet**, a great and enormously popular TV and radio program recently made into a movie. I found that it had succeeded in becoming a caricature—a **reductio ad absurdum**—of the crime story.

Mechanization, which tends to invade our arts and our lives, here triumphs completely. The story develops like a machine with a time mechanism. The characters are dolls with monotonous lack of expression like the hum of a motor. They move about like those figurines in the tower clocks of medieval cathedrals still to be seen in some German cities. With this difference, however: those figurines, moving to mechanical rhythms, are saints, turning about for the glory of God, while the cops and robbers of Dragnet move in rhythm for the glory of Crime.

The machinery of those who follow the law and those on the fringes of the law reduces itself to a mere formula; humanity is excluded. But as one must have human emotion, blood and violence is provided. There is a scene of murder so bloody and repulsive that only the anaesthetized nerves of a stupefied civilization could stand it. . . .

MASS HYPNOSIS: What is the result of all this? The movie public—semi-hypnotized in a darkened chamber where each individual, man and woman, is fused into an anonymous mass—sees pictures of a world in which the inequalities of the social system are befogged by a sentimental "patriotism"; in which the stupid brutalities of war are ennobled by calls of "God and Country"; in which Authority—even when it is insane—is glorified and criticism is identified with cowardice and treason; in which crime is made bearable presented as part of a machine; in which the mechanization of Man is idealized as something esthetic and of value.

History on our side

LAGRANGE, Ill.

I congratulate all of you who are associated with the GUARDIAN, and earnestly urge you to renew your efforts to build, build and build the GUARDIAN. I think you have plenty of that stuff called intestinal fortitude and plenty of "know-how."

On top of all that, you are fighting the just and right cause. History is on your side and, I hope, on the American people's side.

Edward Klinger

NEW YORK

New housing law gets hearing Dec. 9

By Ione Kramer

TENANTS all over the city have been alerted for hearings before the City Council at 1 p.m., Thursday, Dec. 9, on Mayor Wagner's proposed amendments to the city's multiple dwelling law. The amendments—first since 1901, and based on a two-year study by the Brooklyn Grand Jury—are an attempt to outlaw long-standing evils due to overcrowding.

Reaction of most tenant groups was similar to that expressed by the Brooklyn Tenants, Welfare and Consumers Councils. At their annual all-day conference Nov. 28, they hailed the up-dating of the laws as "something for which tenant groups have been fighting for years." But tenant leaders and housing experts warned of resulting hardships if the crowded conditions were to be suddenly declared illegal. These families "will have to find new places in which to live," warned Citizens Housing & Planning Council exec. vice-pres. Ira Robbins.

WHERE TO GO? The N. Y. **World Telegram** (11/19) posed the question: "How are people going to be given more room if there isn't enough to go around now? . . . Even the most optimistic experts would not predict there would be anything like enough new quarters to permit compliance with the law when it would become effective next July 1."

Under present plans, 6,526 low-rent apartments and a few hundred middle-income homes will be built by the city before next Oct. 31. But hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers living doubled-up in small apartments, with whole families in a "furnished room," may be affected by proposed slum clearance. A "must," tenant leaders said, is the City Housing Authority's request to build 8,000 new low-rent and 8-9,000 middle-income apartments in the next five years. Recommending that even more be built, the Brooklyn conference called on Mayor Wagner and Gov.-elect Averell Harriman to get more federal aid for building through reinstatement of the provisions of the Federal Housing Act of 1949, which Congress virtually killed in its last session.

SLIDING RENTS URGED: A second recommendation of the Brooklyn conference was a state law to end discrimination in private housing, allowing a tenant to assert his right to an apartment regardless of race or creed. Many of those most seriously affected by many evictions following the new laws will be Negro and Puerto Rican tenants.

"To assure that segregation is not perpetuated by our very desire to end slum housing," the conference urged a sliding scale of rents for present housing projects. At present most Negro and Puerto Rican tenants are assigned to low-rent projects because of their incomes, while white tenants predominate in middle-income houses.

Harlem Tenants Council exec. secy. Jesse Gray saw the new law as "a tool for the landlords to force mass evictions" unless it included provisions for relocating tenants. The proposed law will make the square footage of floor space in an apartment or room the basis for the number of legal occupants, as the Grand Jury recommended. Under the present standard (the number of cubic feet of air space) a landlord can legally pack a dozen people into a room if the ceiling is high enough.

ONE ROOM FOR A FAMILY OF SEVEN
There ought to be a law—and new housing

NEW RESTRICTIONS: The law's aim is to establish by 1960 the standard of not more than two adults or children over 12 sleeping in the first 150 feet of floor space (roughly one room). Two children would count as one adult, and 80 square feet of floor space would be needed for each additional adult.

An example is the 3-room old-law tenement apartment at 436 W. 46th St. in Manhattan, where the Gonzales family died of gas poisoning last month. The former standard would have permitted eight adults; the new law would limit occupancy to two parents, two children under 12, and two children under four. The section of the law forbidding use of kitchens and kitchenettes for sleeping purposes will be particularly hard on the tens of thousands of families or couples in one-room apartments with a "pullman" kitchen or stove at one end. Other sections of the complicated, 1,500-word law require more bathroom facilities, and set standards for conversions.

Penalties for violation of the provisions are from $10 to $1,000 in fines, or a prison sentence up to one year, or both. But the landlord will not be held in violation if he quickly begins eviction proceedings against the tenants. If the tenant can prove eviction would cause him undue hardship, he may remain six months longer.

WHY NOT? "Now more than ever before it is vital to establish the central relocation bureau for displaced tenants," Gray said. The Brooklyn Council resolved that the city should take responsibility for finding homes for families facing eviction. "If emergency homes can be found for service families and war workers, why not for displaced tenants?" asked Council exec. secy. Laura Hall. She recommended that the city take over vacant high-rent apartments to house them. This policy is sometimes followed by the Welfare Dept. to find homes for families in their care.

Tenant groups will mobilize to have the relocation provision included when the law is passed. Harlem Tenants Council promised a delegation of 100 at the Dec. 9 hearings.

Another section of the proposed law will demand that the name of every house's owner be posted, along with the legal number of occupants, in each building. The former is a provision tenant groups have urged for years, to end the landlord practice of dodging responsibility through phony real estate companies or unavailable agents. This point is expected to be bitterly contested by owner lobbies, and the law's sponsors have hinted at a compromise.

Roll 'em back!

A petition campaign urging the state Legislature to roll back the 15% rent increase and continue the rent control law, set to expire next May, was launched last week by the Brooklyn Tenants Council (7 New York Av., B'klyn 16). The petition also asks the removal from office of State Rent Administrator Joseph D. McGoldrick and other members of the Temporary State Housing Rent Commission.

The group criticized McGoldrick for administering the rent law for the benefit of landlords. Bedford-Stuyvesant housing leader Mrs. Lois Salo said: "You need a spy glass to see the tenant's rights in the law." The Council has called for a delegation to the Legislature early in January.

Gad, sir! The General is right!

CHICAGO, Nov. 19, (UP)—Gen. B. W. Chidlaw, continental air defense commander for the Air Force, appealed to civilians today to stop complaining about the roar of planes from nearby bases.

The civilian population, he said, should accept the scream and snarl of jet ships as they do the roll and crash of thunder. In fact, he said, they should "thank God" for the sounds because they indicate that the Air Force is flying protective cover against possible attack.

—Seattle Daily Times, Nov. 19.

PP supports Marc Memorial

The National Committee of the Progressive Party, at its recent meeting in New York, voted the following resolution supporting the memorial for Vito Marcantonio, a founder of the PP:

VITO MARCANTONIO left a legacy of political struggle for the rights and welfare of the American people. His devotion to the cause of world peace was unparalleled in the Congresses of this generation. We enthusiastically support the efforts to record for present and future generations his magnificent accomplishments through the publication of his congressional speeches and a biography covering his political life and contributions to American democracy.

Marc will always be remembered by all as a man of honesty and integrity and one who always fought uncompromisingly for the people. The highest tribute we can pay to him is our firm pledge to continue the fight he waged so valiantly. Therefore this Natl. Committee of the Progressive Party unanimously urges full attendance at the Vito Marcantonio Memorial Meeting Dec. 7 at Manhattan Center in New York. We further urge all state organizations and other progressives to send supporting messages and financial contributions to the meeting in memory of one of America's foremost fighters for peace and democracy.

To the above, we of the GUARDIAN respectfully say "Amen!"

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Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, Natl. Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

★ COMING — ANOTHER SENSATIONAL EVENING!! ★
Friday, Dec. 17 — 8:30
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
Enjoy
"CALYPSO CAROUSEL"
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•
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YORKVILLE TEMPLE, 157 E. 86 St.
Contribution: $1.00
★ NOTE THE DATE!!! ★

CELEBRATE—300 YEARS OF JEWISH LIFE IN THE U.S.A. Theme: Bread, and Roses Too, at ACADEMY OF MUSIC, 30 Lafayette Av., B'klyn. SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 8:30 p.m. DRAMATIC PRESENTATION of achievements of Jewish women in American history . . . Emma Lazarus . . . Ernestine Rose . . . Esther Hayes. Program: RAY LEV, concert pianist. Dedication of "Turning Point," a Tercentenary mural-like painting by Philip Reisman. LILLIAN SHAPIRO and Dance Troupe. CHORUS of 50 Voices. ALICE CHILDRESS, address. DORA TEITELBAUM, narrator. Sponsored by: B'KLYN EMMA LAZARUS CLUBS Tickets: $1.15, 1.73, 2.30 at Emma Lazaus Fedn., 160 5th Av., NYC.

CULTURAL EVENT—Aaron Kramer reading from his new volume of poetry "Roll the Forbidden Drums" followed by folk and square dancing. Fri., Dec. 3, 8:30 p.m. ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Refreshments. Contribution: 60c.

TOPICAL THEATRE! NEW ONE ACTERS! EXCITING PRODUCTIONS! "Green Thumb" (Peaceful Science); "The Test" (Teacher Firings); "Battle For 3B" (Housing). Sun., Dec. 5, Sun., Dec. 12, 8:45 p.m. 77 5th Av (2nd floor). Voluntary Cont. 85c.

Do your Christmas shopping at the HUNGARIAN BAZAAR, Fri., Sat., Sun., Dec. 3, 4, 5, at Hungarian House, 2141 Southern Blvd., Bronx. Beautiful Hungarian blouses, pottery, baskets, rugs, homemade cakes, big bargains. Auspices: Women's Comm. Hung. Soc. Club.

CHILDREN'S HOOTENANNY. Songs, Games, Squares; fun for brotherhood and peace. Sat., Dec. 4, 2:30. People's Artists Studio 5, 124 W. 21st St. Refreshments. Admission: 75c.

CLUB CINEMA: Festival of International Film Classics, featuring "KRAKATIT" (Czechoslovakia). Dec. 3-5, based on Karel Capek's amazingly prophetic novel of 1923, the film foresees the fate of the scientist responsible for splitting the atom. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm.: Members, $1; nonmembers, $1.25. Next week: "The Strange Deception" (Italy).

Music Division of ASP invites you to AN INFORMAL EVENING OF MUSIC & DISCUSSION OF "SANDHOG," with the authors, Earl Robinson & Waldo Salt. Fri., Dec. 10, 8:30 p.m. Adm.: 75c. ASP, 35 W. 64th St. SU 7-4677.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4 (5-12 p.m.). TRADITIONAL GERMAN DANCE FESTIVAL AND CHRISTMAS MARKET. Orchestra, social and folk dancing. Entertainment. Opportunity to buy unusual Xmas gifts. Yugoslav American Hall, 405 W. 41st St. Admission: $1.25. Auspices: The German American, Inc., 130 E. 16th St., NYC.

SUNDAY FORUM: Dec. 5, 8 p.m. "Ivan Pavlov & Recent Developments in Soviet Psychology & Psychiatry," with Dr. Harry K. Wells and film, "Conditioned Reflexes." Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

Stretch Your Budget! HOLIDAY BAZAAR, Fri., Dec. 3, from 7-11 p.m. Sat., Dec. 4, from 11 a.m.-11 p.m. Sun., Dec. 5, from 2-10 p.m. Gift items, ceramics, glassware, jewelry, toys & everything else. ALP Village Club, 28 Greenwich Av.

Meet the SOBELL FAMILY in their neighborhood. Hear playwright JOHN WEXLEY read from his new "Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg." FRI., DEC. 10, 8 p.m. Refreshments, adm. free, no solicitation of funds. Room 201, 3410 Broadway (138th St.). Sponsored by Neighbors Committee.

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THE ALP'S ALBANY OBJECTIVE:

Democrats to be held to pledges

Irving Blumberg, member of the American Labor Party's political affairs committee, summed up the N.Y. state political picture as seen by the executive committee of the ALP. Here are excerpts:

THE pre-election Democratic campaign pledges together with post-election statements by Gov.-elect Harriman provide a framework—incomplete though it may be—for mounting a real fight for success on a few major issues.

True, we have a situation rife for legislative maneuverings—a Republican majority and a Democratic administration. Here the Democrats can pass as champions of the people—seemingly fighting but without real vigor for the achievement of their party's stated goals. If the Republicans nullify their efforts so much the worse for the Republicans, come the 1956 elections! The Democrats can fight just short of winning—and this is the major danger to be met.

SPRINGBOARD: To assume that the banker Harriman will go down the line to fulfill his commitments would be folly. To understand, however, that his and the Democratic Party's public pledges can serve as a springboard for the people's mass pressure is wisdom.

Their [the Democrats'] program on a state scale calls for strengthened rent control, rent rollbacks "where justified";

PETER C. BROWN
A precedent was set

effective anti-discrimination measures with teeth in all publicly aided housing, in jobs, education, etc., repeal of merit rating; extension and liberalization of the Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation and Disability Insurance laws; repeal of the Condon-Wadlin law; state referendum on a school construction bond issue; liberalization of the state-aid formula; local tax powers to N.Y.C.; child care aid; permanent registration; a juvenile delinquency program; public utility regulation; $1.25 minimum wage law.

BAD STUFF: Together with this good sounding program the Democrats in N.Y.C. and in Albany are reportedly working out plans inconsistent with the welfare of the people. For example in N.Y.C. there remains the danger that the fiscal problem may be met by a city payroll tax—earlier supported by Mayor Wagner and Tammany leader DeSapio.

There are still dismissals of union teachers in our schools and the beginning of "risk" dismissals in transit by Mayor Wagner's local McCarthyite, Peter Campbell Brown. There is the Harriman appointment of Myles Lane to prepare new witch-hunt legislation in Albany—and no talk of repealing the Feinberg law. There is Controller Gerosa's warning about a "tight" capital budget—which again means insufficient funds for school construction and otner essential public construction. There is no talk of the city's undertaking a realistic reassessment of big realty. . . .

The job ahead is to force the Democratic Party in Albany to put up such a fight on the issues, as to make it politically unwise for the Republicans to balk the pressure and to transform the usual sham Albany battles into real battles. The lever for this fight can be the Democratic Party's own campaign pledges. This means community legislative conferences; radio and TV time; work with other community groups on local problems—especially at hearings before city bodies on the capital and expense budgets; committee hearings in Albany; group conferences with legislators; public statements; conferences addressed by legislators.

San Francisco News
"Windfalls—and every one of them rotten!"

AT VILLAGE ALP

Young voters meet Dec. 9

FOR a year a Young Voters Committee has sparked the Greenwich Village ALP Club politically and socially with such success that the ALP has set up a N.Y. county-wide Young Voters Committee with an organizing session scheduled for Dec. 9, 8:30 p.m., at 28 Greenwich Av.

Muriel (Mickey) Scheinman, ALP candidate for State Senator in the last election, asked clubs to send delegates. She said the meeting would be a workshop on what young people wanted and how ALP could organize them.

The Greenwich Village YVC found young voters (21-30) worried about schools, the draft and housing. They came to ALP meetings, developed their own speakers, held their own street meetings, tossed socials, did a good job, had fun.

AT ST. GEORGE

Anti-runaway rally Dec. 6

THE N.Y.C. locals of the United Electrical Workers have called a public rally at Brooklyn's Hotel St. George Monday evening, Dec. 6, to mobilize opposition to the runaway trend, exemplified by the American Safety Razor Company's flight from Brooklyn to Staunton, Va.

The ASR plant on Jay St. is still being picketed daily by its locked-out workers and their sympathizers, and UE has launched a nation-wide campaign to boycott ASR goods. Last week a sound truck toured city streets placarded with boycott posters.

The Dec. 6 rally will also open a campaign to press newly elected state and Congressional officials to act against runaways, raise the minimum pay to $1.25, establish fair employment practices and lower taxes.

McCarthy rally

(Continued from Page 1)

McCarthy, the speeches deftly steered away from the Senator. He did not appear and though there were closed-circuit broadcasts from California and Utah, none was hooked up with Washington to hear him. The generals, admirals, captains and colonels on the platform made it a rally for war now.

LET'S HAVE A FIRE: The high military brass (retired) seemed unwilling to be lieutenants in McCarthy's movement. They yielded to only a few civilians (ex-Gov. Edison, Utah's Gov. Lee speaking from Salt Lake City, attorney John Francis Neylan from San Francisco), and allowed only a few minutes of introduction to Mrs. Jean McCarthy and her mother.

Dr. Godfrey Schmidt, constitutional law prof. at Fordham University, offered this antidote to fear of A-bombs:

> "There is one thing worse than thermonuclear warfare today and that is to be defeated in it. . . . The one that puts in the first blow is the one that strikes the telling one."

Blockade of China and a continuous witch-hunt were the line hammered home, but the audience was in no mood for any detailed policy speech. They cheered most when the oratory was vague and frenzied. Major Al Williams, former Marine flier and master of ceremonies, stirred the crowd when he said: "Evidently the prairie is dry in the country—and the prairie is on fire."

"THE HIDDEN FORCE": Ex-Marine Lt. Gen. Del Valle brought rebel yells when he promised "a long and perhaps even a bloody fight." He did not say where or against whom. Rear Admiral John G. Crommelin identified the enemy as "the hidden force." Former Chief of Naval Operations Adm. W. H. Standley (speaking from San Diego) said the foe was a "small but high-powered pressure group with headquarters in New York." Each faction in this loosely-knit audience had its own special hate. When Gen. Del Valle, in an attack on "the doctrine of co-existence," asked, "Who wants to shake those bloody hands?" there came cries of: "Lehman, Lehman, Lehman."

Other hates, expressed by catcalls, were: President Eisenhower, Truman, Acheson, Sens. Flanders (R-Vt.) and Fulbright (D-Ark.) (denounced as a "typical Rhodes scholar"), and FDR. The Communist Party was scarcely mentioned; the targets were plainly bigger. The "hidden force" was seemingly everywhere, including the White House. Col. Wm. F. Heimlich, former director of the U.S. radio in West Berlin, told the cheering crowd: "If we had guts at the top of this land China would be blockaded today." The President was denounced also for his "blackout order" keeping classified information from McCarthy.

AMERICA TO THEM: The crowd had its heroes, too. Sen. McCarthy was referred to as "the greatest patriot since Lincoln" and "the fighting Irish Marine." His gift of insult won praise from Dr. Schmidt, who wished he had "the wit" to coin McCarthy's epithet about "the guts" of Sen. Hendrickson.

Other heroes: Rep. Martin Dies, the late Sen. Pat McCarran, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Hearst columnists George Sokolsky and Westbrook Pegler (who was introduced from the audience), America Firster Hamilton Fish (on the platform) and McCarthy's former assistant Roy Cohn. (The GUARDIAN spotted a man resembling Gerald L. K. Smith like a twin. He said his name was Phillips but when other reporters pressed him, fled the Garden, dodging photographers.)

Cohn was found by cameramen in Pegler's box. For three minutes while the crowd cheered (with a few well-hushed boos) Cohn shyly resisted efforts to bring him to the platform. He yielded in the end while people shouted: "Roy for Senator," and was led to the microphone. He was grateful for all that America had done for "his people," and told his yelling audience:

> "Joe McCarthy and I would rather have American people of this type than all the politicians of the world."

Mrs. Swanson's antidote

By mid-week it seemed that Joe McCarthy was running out of politicians. There was still maneuvering behind the scenes for a softening of the Senate censure resolution. His ten days in Bethesda Naval Hospital had given time to show the Republican Party his strength across the country. Monday night's rally was a test, and it seemed a failure.

Only in the rally's closing minutes, in response to a shouted question from the audience, did a spokesman report on the number of petition signatures against censure. Accountants had counted 1¼ million so far, it was said, and the job would take ten more days.

The empty seats in the balcony were one testimony of McCarthy's failure so far. Mrs. Winifred Swanson of Palmer, Mass., set out to record more positively some of the anti-McCarthy feeling in th country. Opposing the military brass heading the "Ten Million Americans" for McCarthy, Mrs. Swanson started "Twenty Million Americans for Censure of Sen. McCarthy" and restricted all posts of leadership to privates (retired).

THE STRAW AND THE VIRUS: The movement spread quickly to Boston and Harvard University, Connecticut and New York. In N.Y. City Mrs. J. Shapiro, 23, of 1695 Topping Av., Bronx, watched a TV broadcast of Sen. Case (R-S.D.) in which he announced he would vote against censure on one count. To Mrs. Shapiro it was "the straw that broke the camel's back." She wrote a three-line letter to the N.Y. Post and in a few days was snowed under with 150 answering letters and countless phone calls, all answering her plea for anti-McCarthy sentiment.

She telephoned Mrs. Swanson in Palmer and since her husband is a private (ret.) he qualified for the N.Y. City chairmanship of the "Twenty Million Americans."

Mrs. Shapiro and friends mimeographed petitions and in one hour last Saturday four college girls standing on W. 34th St. gathered 1,000 signatures. Calls for petitions came from upstate and Long Island. In Levittown, Lawrence Alexander, a polio victim still using an iron lung, offered his services. He came out of the army a corporal and therefore had to take the title of secretary, not chairman, of the Nassau County division.

Alexander is the author of **Iron Cradle** (Crowell, $3), a book of encouragement to polio sufferers. He said he meant his book to tell people they "can do more than they think they can"; perhaps, he added, that applied to McCarthy as well as polio.

FUNDS FOR FLORIDA

Last week's story on the Miami, Fla. witch-hunt said fight-back funds were being collected by the Greater Miami Constitutional Defense Committee (Box 1704, Miami Beach, Fla.) That committee is spearheading protest activities there. Funds are being collected by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Av., New York 1.

ALP LOOKS AT ITSELF

Lone voice for independence till labor builds own party

At the first post-election meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Labor Party on Nov. 23 Exec. Secy. Morris Goldin analyzed the election returns and closed his report with this view of ALP's future:

THE American people are apparently several steps ahead of the politicians but not yet ready to run with the present ALP or Progressive Party. It seems that the American people generally like our program but not wrapped in the package we give it to them. And yet, it is quite apparent that none of the present political storekeepers are willing to sell our program except in a corrupt or distorted form.

An independent political voice therefore is necessary to challenge the bipartisanship on the issue of German rearmament, the attacks on our Constitution, the violation of civil rights. There is no other voice. And speak on these we must, and urge others to speak with us, to act with us, to act alone if not with us, so long as we can get more and more people moving in the direction of action on behalf of the realization of our program. We must speak out for example right now on the [McCarthy] censure motion.

FOUR POINTS: A center for independent political action, by whatever name, is a must so long as there exists no alternative group with our program or the most substantial part of our program which can say clearly and logically: We have your program, and we can sell it better than you can.

Such a center must: (1) keep together organizationally such clubs and district organizations that can make a continuing contribution to the growth of independent political activity; (2) build or organize new clubs where it is commonly deemed necessary; (3) devise activity by which we can bring our program to ever-widening circles of people in other groupings or organizations without the rigidity which characterized our work in the past; (4) run such candidates in such areas, at such times when we estimate they will advance the cause of independent political action.

Labor must in the interest of its own existence and defense, come into increasing conflict with the drive towards war and reactionary repression. . . . It will inevitably seek to solve some of these problems in the political arena—because it is in that arena where it lost most of its rights. Here its aspirations will come into conflict with the entrenched machine politicians. Labor's increasing voice in politics must lead inevitably to an emergence of a grouping which must seek real power by challenging the current political leaders of the party which most workers consider their political home.

THE ULTIMATE GOAL: [The] process has begun, it will grow. Our independent political activity must be part of this general stream, helping programmatically, and organizationally where we can be of use, to build a powerful movement for independent political action . . . towards the ultimate realization of a national party of labor, farmers and the Negro people.

In my judgment the movement has begun . . . and this election campaign has served as a stimulus towards it. We must welcome every such development . . . and when it does emerge, then—and only then—the question of our disappearance as an independent political force may be intelligently discussed. Until then, it is the character and scope and vigor of our work which will help determine how fast and how deep the realignment will be.

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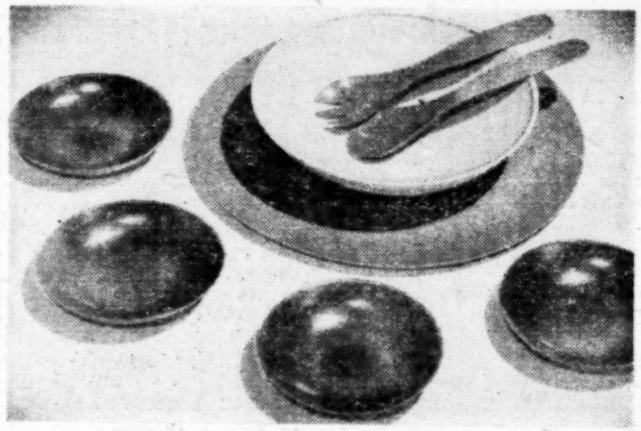

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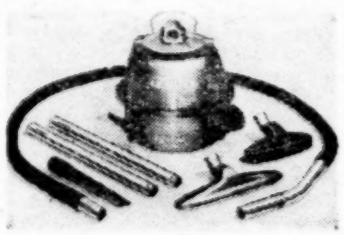

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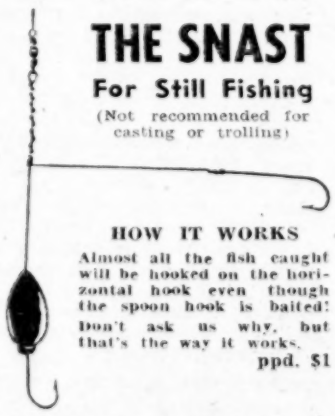

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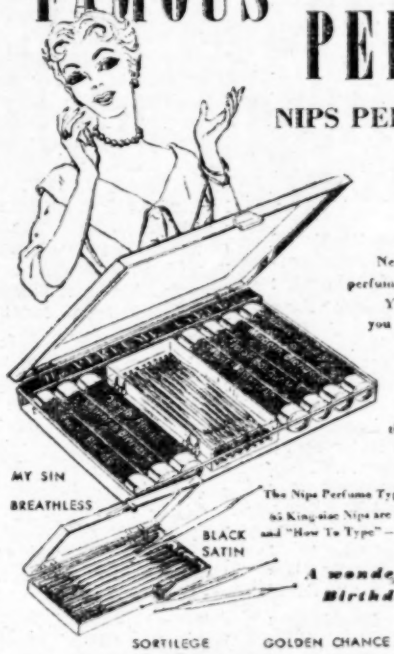

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